The Suffragist

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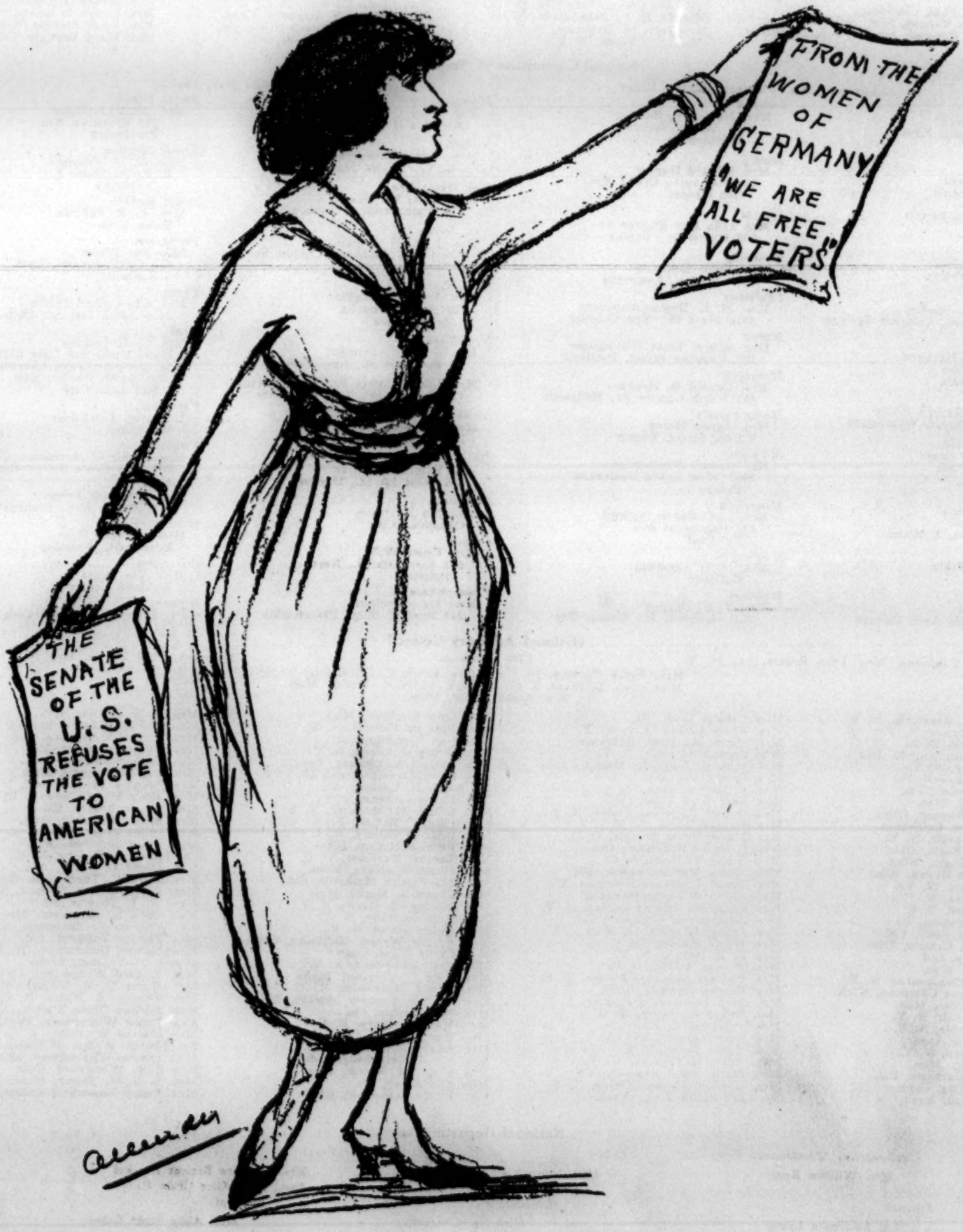
FIVE CENTS

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1918



Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

"I Wonder How They Did It?"

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

on the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918. Yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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The One Remaining Vote

THE regular session of the present Congress has just come to an end. The next session, which is the last, will begin December 2.

This next session, ending in March, offers the last opportunity for obtaining suffrage in this Congress. If the amendment does not pass the Senate during this Congress, the victory in the House of Representatives will be of no avail and we will have to start our campaign over again on both Houses of a new Congress.

We are today one vote short in the Senate of the two-thirds majority required. There are just about one hundred days left in this Congress in which to win this one vote.

Will you help?

We are planning to go once again to the Senate on Monday, December 16, to urge the passage of suffrage. We want at least one representative for each of the 435 congressional districts in the country. Will you join in this march to the Senate?

Will you also help to win the one remaining vote by sending money? Do not let this last vote be lost for lack of funds. Every woman can contribute something, even though only a few cents in stamps. If you can give $10,000, or $5,000, or $1,000, send that. If you can give $500, or $100, or $50, send that. If you can give $10, or $5, or $1, send it at once.

The long fight for the political freedom of women is nearly won. Only a year ago we were approximately eighty votes short of the two-thirds majority in both Houses. Today, the amendment has passed one House and is only one vote short in the other. A year ago the President was against us. Today, he is urging the passage of the measure by the Senate. A year ago neither great political party had endorsed the amendment. Today both parties, through their national committees, have given it their support.

Since such progress has been made in the past twelve months, one more vote can certainly be won in the remaining three months of this Congress if every suffragist gives to the uttermost in service and money. The amount which you give and the promptness with which you give may determine defeat or victory. We are on the very brink of success—will you not do your part to make that success a reality?

ALICE PAUL.

A Message from Wyoming to the Senate

By Anita Pollitzer

"IT is a lasting disgrace to the United States Senate if they neglect any longer to pass the woman's suffrage amendment."

I heard, and looked up. Before me sat a woman, one of the first group that ever cast a ballot in the United States—Mrs. Mary Lee Stark, of Wyoming.

"My friends and I went down together," she said, "and we dropped in our little slips of paper in the first election giving unlimited franchise to women. That was in 1870. They have called me the first woman to cast a ballot in the United States. Those who went with me on that day have all passed on. The memory of that moment, the awakening of freedom for women has become ever more holy as the years go by."

Mrs. Stark is an exquisite old lady—almost ninety years old—intensely active in mind and body; magnificent in spirit. Almost symbolic she seems.

Her brother, General E. M. Lee, was secretary of the Territory of Wyoming, appointed by Grant. Woman suffrage was his hobby in his early life, and in 1867 he introduced a bill for equal suffrage in the Connecticut legislature, which still mulls over the question of woman suffrage. General Robert E. Lee, also was one of the same family.

Mrs. Stark listened to my story of the intolerable delay of the federal suffrage amendment in the Senate. Her eyes flashed,

"And the Senate still keeps women waiting. Oh, why can't these young men understand? It is deplorable that women so efficient should be kept making the suffrage fight; and to make so many women wait. It's taking time, and time is precious. . . . So many women and so much time. And to think they keep the amendment from you and then arrest you for asking for it. Why, it's adding gross insult to injury. It makes me indignant to think you are still pleading for what we have had so long; for what all women ought to have had since the Republic was founded.

"The last thing I joined," she continued, "was the Daughters of the Revolution. I felt then that I would never join anything more; but that is a backward-looking fight for freedom, and this—why this means freedom in the future for women. . . . Such a magnificent end—I want to join this group called the National Woman's Party."

I sat amazed. Every word she uttered seemed so reverently clear and fine. "Mrs. Stark," I asked, "may I take your words to the Senate, to those men who have caused this delay?"

"Say that I said it." She rose from her chair. "Say that I said it, and make it drastic, because it's a lasting shame and disgrace to the United States Senate if they neglect to pass the amendment—a measure of so much benefit and consequence and importance to the ages that go by. Oh, if they only knew—if these young men only knew. It's so inevitable, so just—Liberty—it's liberty, that's all."

The Fifty Thousand Dollar Fund Grows

THE emergency campaign for funds for the final drive on the United States Senate for one more vote for the federal suffrage amendment has already been brought to many groups of men and women in the District of Columbia, where no one has the vote.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Finance Committee, announces that over $250 was pledged at one meeting, and at another over $150 was pledged making a total of $400 for the District of Columbia quota toward the campaign fund.

Mrs. Lewis has sent the following letter to the state branch chairman of the National Woman's Party urging them to raise funds through sales, through teas, through contribution boxes, through pledges at meetings for the final drive that will bring enfranchisement to the women of America.

"WE suffragists are facing a very critical period of our work. We have only one hundred days to secure the passage during this Congress of the federal amendment. If we have not got our measure through by the fourth of March when the new Congress comes into being, we shall have to begin all over again with the new House of Representatives and repeat the arduous labors of the past six years to secure the passage of our measure once more by that body.

"We must carry on an active campaign in three states where we have hope of securing the pledge of Senators who have not yet declared their position on the amendment. We must also carry on a general campaign throughout the rest of the country, in order to bring pressure to bear upon the Senate and the leaders of the political parties. The National Executive Committee at its last meeting decided on this campaign and resolved to ask the State Branches to help raise the $50,000 that will be necessary for this work.

"For this purpose we are asking our state branches to pledge $1,000 each to be paid by the middle of December. The District of Columbia Branch has pledged this sum and has already raised $400 towards the payment thereof. The Pennsylvania Branch has also pledged the same amount. Will you not cooperate with our purpose and ask the branch of which you are chairman to contribute $1,000? We hope that every state will make this pledge as a minimum. Of course, some of the richer states will be able to do much more and we shall make our campaign with telling effect if we are not hampered for lack of funds.

"It would be heart-breaking to have the fourth of March come with a record of a failure, for lack of funds to carry on our work. Let us consecrate ourselves to this effort, which we hope may be the last one required on the Congress of the United States; let us with renewed devotion to our great cause endeavor during these one hundred days, to do all that in us lies to raise money by every means that one would take to raise it for any other great object that one had closely at heart."

Enthusiastic responses to the plea for funds for the final drive for suffrage are already coming from all states. "Never have the people failed to respond generously to each appeal for suffrage funds," says Mrs. Lewis. "In the midst of the Liberty Loan Drive of last summer, the largest sum that has ever been raised in an emergency for the campaign of the National Woman's Party was pledged by the same people who were subscribing to the Loan for Liberty abroad. In six days time over $23,000 was pledged to the Woman's Party fight."

Among those who have contrbiuted large amounts in the past year are: Colonel William B. Thompson, who gave $10,000; Mrs. William B. Thompson, $4,000; Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, $2,000; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, $3,238; William K. Vanderbilt, $5,000; Miss Mary A. Burnham, $5,500; Mrs. Agnes Leach, $3,782; Miss Elizabeth Hooker, $2,000; Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, $2,375; Mrs. Howard Gould, $1,500; William Randolph Hearst, $1,500; Dr. Donald R. Hooker, $1,000.

The Strongest Thing In the World

By Sherwood Anderson

THERE are three things the strength of which are not understood. The first is the breast of a horse pulling a load up a hill. The second is the laugh that comes out of the lungs of a man. The third is the strongest of all. It is the strongest thing in the world. It is the persistent voice of the woman who knows what she wants.

Men never know what they want. You can fool any man with words and while we have a man run world you can fool the world with words. It is a thing that has always been done and is being done now. That is because the world is being run entirely by men, by hopeless idealists, by children who listen to words and do not look for the deed.

There is, I am sure, something feminine about the intuition of the politicians who have so far succeeded in blocking the attempt to give votes to American women. They do see things with feminine clearness. Having sensed out the fact that they cannot by words succeed in befogging the minds of such women as Miss Alice Paul and her lieutenants they believe it would be dangerous to give these women the vote and from their point of view they are quite right. They have found out that words will satisfy men but that words will not satisfy these women. They have very good reasons for being afraid.

Now that the storm of war has passed and men have time to think again, and are a little beginning to dare to think again, one thing must be quite clear to them. Women have truly wonderful courage. Do you realize, my fellow men, what they have done. We have just fought and won a war to give democracy to the world. And in the very midst of it all, while we were stamping the word democracy across the face of the world, these women have dared to ask for democracy at home. There is something terrific about it.

There are three things the strength of which are not understood. The first is the breast of a horse pulling a load up a hill. The second is the laugh that comes out of the lungs of a man. The third is the strongest of all. It is the strongest thing in the world. It is the persistent voice of the woman who knows what she wants.

How Ten Votes Were Won

By Clara Wold

THE campaign for one more vote in the Senate for the federal suffrage amendment is rapidly spreading throughout the country. Everywhere women are telling how ten votes for the amendment were won by the National Woman's Party in one year, and are adding that these victories leave little question that the women can secure one more vote in a hundred days.

Only one year ago the amendment was not in either House of the Congress; the Administration was for suffrage by the state method only. The National Woman's Party used all its persuasive power of picketing to such astonishing effect upon the President that he not only endorsed the federal amendment, but personally advocated it in letters, and finally appeared before the Senate to ask for its immediate passage as a war measure.

The executive committees of both the Democratic and the Republican parties declared their belief in suffrage by federal action.

The amendment passed the lower House last January, and finally came to a vote in the Senate in October. There it was defeated by two votes. In January, the amendment lacked eleven votes of passing, and the record of the determination of women in winning ten votes still amazes many Senators.

AT the first meeting of the regular Thursday night gatherings, which the National Woman's Party will hold at headquarters in its campaign for one vote, Miss Alice Paul, National Chairman, told the story of winning ten votes in one year.

Senator Phelan, of California, was the first to capitulate. He announced that the President's declaration for the federal amendment had convinced him that there was no reason to oppose it on the ground of party policy or principle and that he would gladly vote for it.

Senator McCumber, of North Dakota, who had voted against the amendment in 1914, was the next man to respond to the attack of the Woman's Party. He was unwilling to change his own mind, but said that if he believed that his state desired him to vote for the amendment, he would do so. Immediately suffragists appealed to the state legislature of North Dakota for its endorsement of the measure. The state legislature instructed Senator McCumber to vote for the amendment, and he thereupon announced his support.

The same method of attack was used on Senator Gerry, of Rhode Island, who was finally won through the resolution from his state legislature.

The next opponent of the federal amendment, who changed his vote was Senator Culberson, of Texas. He too, was willing to abide by and follow the instructions of his state legislature. Since the legislature was not in session, the suffragists untiringly went all through the state rounding up the members of the legislature and getting the signatures of more than two-thirds of them to a petition asking Senator Culberson to change his position on suffrage, which he then agreed to do.

One of the strongest opponents to the amendment, Senator King, of Utah, was the next to change his mind. Suffragists went into his state and campaigned everywhere, talking to every group of people in meetings, asking them to send resolutions and petitions to their Senator demanding that he vote for the amendment. Letters, telegrams, petitions, resolutions, poured in daily, until Senator King was so certain that his constituents wanted the federal amendment passed that he announced his support.

Four other Senators were won through the campaign launched through their own party leaders. Suffragists interviewed Republican leaders throughout the country, pointing out the fact that if the amendment was to pass the Republican Party must give the necessary votes since the record of the Democratic Party showed that it would not. The Republican record in the lower House, they argued, demanded as good a record in the Senate. As a matter of justice and party wisdom Senator Harding, of Ohio, Senator Kellogg, of Minnesota, Senator Page of Vermont, and Senator Sutherland of West Virginia, were persuaded by their party to vote for suffrage.

Since the vote in October, the amendment has, through the result of the elections, gained one more vote, that of Senator Pollock, of South Carolina, who recently announced his support of the measure.

ONE more vote is needed. While it might come from any one of the thirty-four wilful Senators, all of whom are constantly reminded of the demand of their constituents for a favorable vote, the campaign of the Woman's Party has been especially centered upon the most promising chances of this vote, Senators Gay, Borah and Moses.

At the same time as the Woman's Party is struggling for the one vote needed, it is also fighting to get the amendment before the Senate for a vote before March 4. The fact that the anti-suffrage Senators met in secret session on the day that President Wilson read the armistice terms and agreed to keep the amendment from coming up in the Senate in this session of Congress, makes the suffrage campaign all the more significant. If the one vote is promised before March 4, there will be no possible excuse for not considering the amendment.

A Suffragist's Causes for Thanksgiving

Speech by Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley at National Headquarters on Thanksgiving Night.

THIS is perhaps the most memorable Thanksgiving day this country has ever had. The Pilgrims observed Thanksgiving day and General Washington expressed the spirit of the day in his Thanksgiving proclamation of 1789 but it did not become a general custom to celebrate the day as a national holiday and to hold religious service until the proclamation issued by President Lincoln in 1864. Today our nation has greater cause for thankfulness than ever before when we realize that the frightful sacrifice of the lives of our citizens and of our Allies has ceased and that it has ceased because the things our soldiers fought for have been realized.

Even if most of us are not really citizens of this great nation, we women rejoice in the triumph of the principle of democracy over the oppression of autocracy, although realizing too sadly that our dear country does not practice what is preached.

There are things to be thankful for, however, on this day of gratitude, even if we women have not yet secured our enfranchisement. As the old hymn says: "Count your blessings one by one and remember what the Lord has done." To count our blessings one by one it is necessary to look back a bit and see the progress the federal amendment has made in the last five years and then see how near we have reached the goal.

FIVE years ago while the federal amendment was hoped for it had not actively been worked for since Miss Anthony ceased her annual pilgrimages to Washington. All efforts for woman suffrage made subsequent to Miss Anthony's death and prior to the organization of the Congressional Union and then of the Woman's Party had been made to secure the amendment of state constitutions and the enfranchisement of women in the individual states. It was the dearest wish of Miss Anthony's heart to secure the passage of the federal amendment enfranchising women, but while Miss Anthony believed that this was by far the most important work to be done she realized that it could not be achieved until a sufficient number of states had shown their approval by granting woman suffrage by the amendment of their own constitutions. Miss Paul, on whom Miss Anthony's mantel seems to have fallen, believing that the requisite number of woman suffrage states had been secured, has made the passage of the federal amendment the sole object of her labors for the last five years. It would be useless to enumerate or even to mention the varied and numerous enterprises which Miss Paul has brought to a successful issue, but as we are counting up our blessings one by one, it might be pertinent to enumrate the fruits of victory secured by our dauntless leader.

First and foremost should be mentioned the complete conversion of the President of the United States from indifference to our question to an eloquent message on our behalf addressed to the Senate of the United States; second, the favorable vote in the House of Representatives; third, the endorsement of national woman suffrage by both political parties and finally the promise of the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate with the exception of one vote.

THESE are great and memorable achievements and I doubt if the most sanguine suffragist would have believed that they could have happend five years ago. But they have not been secured easily and not only stupendous work, and large sums of money have been necessary but most of all the dauntless courage and the unfailing inspiration of Miss Paul have been needed to bring them about.

Now Miss Paul asks us to make a last assault, to take the last trench, as it were, in this fight to secure the passage of the amendment before the end of this Congress. Not to do so is to have to begin all over again in the House and then too to lose the chance of ratification in 32 states for two years for 43 state legislatures will be in session during this winter and spring and only 11 during next winter. That may mean a delay of four years before American women, as a class, will be enfranchised. Miss Paul asks us to sacrifice ourselves once more in an effort to secure the passage of the amendment in the Senate during the next three months. She asks us to make anothr direct appeal, this time to the Senate. It is not a pleasant or attractive thing to do but the whole history of the Woman's Party has proved that it is the direct appeal that has had its effect.

IN the face of world-wide death and destruction in Europe it is an astounding thing that our suffrage warfare, so devoid of sacrifice and injury, except to the protestants themselves, is still received with such indignation, horror and disgust by most of the newspapers. It has consisted, as heretofore, in young, ardent, patriotic women making an appeal to the Senate by words printed on a banner. Condensed arguments, truths acknowledged by all are being brought to the attention of the Senate with a petition that the federal amendment enfranchising women be passed before the close of Congress. The banner bearers have stood quietly making their silent appeal and have aroused the most intense criticism and antagonism, which has resulted in the use of force and imprisonment. It will seem strange, in the future, to the sons and daughters of the men now sitting in Congress and of the men writing for the newspapers, that this really feminine and gentle way of fighting battles, hurting no one but themselves, asking nothing but the realization of an ideal, which the country has proved itself ready to die for, should be so savagely resisted. History will give the credit that is deserved to this gallant little band, fighting their bloodless battles to achieve the political freedom of half the people of America.

I am proud to have been one of them in last year's campaign. And now in the present campaign, in, let us hope, the last encounter with prejudice and tradition, are we going to let Alice Paul stand alone on the steps of the Capitol, making her appeal, a deserted little figure, holding a *single* banner because there is no one to stand by her?

Conference of National Advisory Council

December 14, 15, 16, 1918

National Headquarters, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Program

Saturday, December 14

10:30 A. M.
(At National Headquarters)
Open to Members National Advisory Council.
Officers of the Council will be elected for coming year and other business of the Council transacted.

11:00 A. M. AND 2:30 P. M.
(At National Headquarters)
Business Meeting.
Open to the National Advisory Council, State Chairmen, National Executive Committee and representatives from states appointed by State Chairmen.
Discussion of Senate Situation.

7:30 P. M.
(At National Headquarters)
Dinner—Tickets at $1.50 each may be obtained at Headquarters.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15

3:00 P. M.
(At National Theatre)
Free Mass Meeting.

8:00 P. M.
(At National Headquarters)
Reception by D. C. Branch.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 16

12:00 O'CLOCK
A Delegation representing each Congressional District of the country will march to the Senate to demand the passage of the suffrage amend. The delegation will assemble at National Headquarters at 11:30 A. M.

Wyoming's Reaction

By Anita Pollitzer

BECAUSE Wyoming, the first state to enfranchise women, feels that self-government is the most important issue confronting our country at present; because Wyoming has for so long accepted women as partners, not as subject citizens, it treated my coming in protest against the refusal of the Administration to pass the suffrage amendment as a matter of course, and heard with bitter resentment of the treatment of suffrage and suffragists by the Sixty-fifth Congress and the final defeat of this measure, because the President's Party refused to follow him on this issue

The figures were there, and the responsibility could be placed squarely where it belonged. The Woman's Party had gone into Wyoming to acquaint women with the actual facts, to tell how the vote stood in the Senate the day of the defeat, and to ask that women stand together as women protesting with all the power of their vote against our country's refusal of justice and democracy

THE appeal to women in Wyoming was carried by 24,000 dodgers and circular letters mailed and distributed to women voters of the state; by bill-posters and by banners which carried the message "Vote Against Osborne, His Party Defeated the Woman's Suffrage Amendment." The campaign in Wyoming so awakened women to the sense of their responsibility that an effective and working organization for federal suffrage was formed

In Cheyenne, after election a group of prominent women gathered to form an active circle of the Wyoming Branch, National Woman's Party. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Joseph M. Carey, wife of Ex-Senator Carey, of the United States Senate. The sentiment expressed by all was that Wyoming wanted a share in the winning of suffrage during this session of Congress. This, they felt could be done by organized effort. They heard the records of Senators and the treatment of those who asked for suffrage with deep indignation, and agreed that a Western Senator in order to claim that he supports the amendment, must not only vote for suffrage at this time, but work for its immediate passage. The following women were elected, to form the Executive Committee of the Cheyenne Branch, Woman's Party: Mrs. Joseph M. Carey, wife of Ex-Senator Carey and mother of the Governor-Elect of Wyoming, Chairman; Reverend Annette Gray, State Chairman of the Woman's Division, National Council of Defense and the only dollar-a-year woman in Wyoming, appointed as Special Agent for the Labor Bureau, Vice Chairman; Mrs. W. C. Mentzer, County Chairman of the National Council of Defense, Treasurer; Mrs. Cyrus Beard, wife of Chief Justice Beard of the Supreme Court of Wyoming, Secretary; Mrs. Archie Allison, wife of State Senator Allison, and President of the W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Harry B. Henderson, and Mrs. Carley, Secretary of the State Federation of Woman's Clubs. Mrs. Carey sounded the key-note of the meeting when she said:

"Wyoming being the first state to grant equal suffrage, we have calmly enjoyed that privilege, knowing little of the energy, time and sacrifice, it is costing other women, it would be a disgrace to the State of Wyoming, if her women did not take their share of the struggle and speedily end this intolerable delay."

In Laramie, the women enthusiastically responded to the call of the women of the East and South with deep indignation and determination. Mrs. Emma H. Knight, Dean of Women of the Wyoming State University, is Chairman of this Branch; Mrs. Henry G. Balch, City Chairman of the Liberty Loan Committee, Vice Chairman and Treasurer; those on the Executive Committee are: Mrs. M. C. Brown, Mrs. A. B. Hamilton, Mrs. J. H. Symonds, Mrs. Frank B. Spafford, Mrs. May Baird Campbell, Miss Ruth Adsit, and Mrs. Lucia Fitterer. In commenting on the fact that the Senate allows this intolerable injustice to prevail, Mrs. Knight said:

"The women voters of the West are indignant over the fact that our Senate still persists in denying the right of suffrage to women everywhere in the United States. Even in benighted Germany, women are included in their plans for democracy. Anyone who thinks at all must realize that a Democracy cannot *be*, unless it represents the voice of the entire people. It is the inherent right of all true Americans that those governed shall have a voice in their government."

IT is significant that every group in the West considers every Western Senator as its personal responsibility. They are watching the records of these men on suffrage, in some cases going back into their past history and comparing what they have stood for on the question of suffrage in previous years with their present views. In every case but one, Western Senators profit by the investigation, but an extraordinary example presents itself in Senator Borah of Idaho. Constantly is heard on all sides: "How can Borah, elected on the Republican platform, accepting the plank in that platform, which pledges him to suffrage, vote with honor against this measure?" Western sentiment runs high in the case of Senator Borah's failure to declare himself upon this issue. The feeling was shown in a telegram sent to him by the Wyoming Federation of Labor, as follows: "Loyal Americanism demands that you support woman suffrage. We ask that you wire your position immediately."

The West is an evidence that women are not forgetting; that it is political suicide for any Senator to have a record on the Susan B. Anthony amendment which does not read clearly and well.

Militants to Certain Other Women

By Katharine Fisher

YOU who pass coldly by when the police rush upon us,
When they wrench away our banners,
(Beautiful banners whose colors cry a demand for liberty)
You who criticise or condemn
(Declaring you "believe in suffrage,
Worked for it in your state, and your mother knew Susan B. Anthony")
Can you think in terms of a nation?
Could you die, (or face ridicule) for your belief?
For the freedom of women, for your freedom, we are fighting;
For your safety we face danger, bear torture;
For your honor endure untellable insult.
To win democracy for you we defend the banners of democracy
Till our banners and our bodies
Are flung together on the pavement.
Waiting at the gates of government,
We have made of our weariness a symbol
Of women's long wait for justice.
We have borne the hunger and hardship of prison,
To open people's eyes
To men's determination to imprison the power of women.

You women who pass coldly by,
Do you imagine your freedom is coming
As a summer wind blows over fields?
Slowly it has advanced by a sixty-years' war,
(Those who have fought in it have not forgotten)
And that war is not won.
Strongly entrenched, the foe sits plotting.

Close to his lines our banners fly,
Signalling where to direct the fire,
Greater forces are needed, reserves and recruits.
Are you for winning or for waiting,
Women who watch the banners go down?
Women who say, "Suffrage is coming,"
While suffrage goes by you into Prussia?
Cease to be content with applauding speeches, and praising politicians.
Patience is shameful.
Awake, rise, and act.

Notes of the Week

Women Workers Being Dismissed

THE fact that the girls from various government departments are being dismissed in great numbers according to the reports, has caused a strong protest from organized women. The National Woman's Trade Union League called a meeting in Washington to take action on this unfair treatment and has sent the following letter to the War Labor Policies Board:

"We have noted the announcement of the government's wise policy as to the demobilization of the military forces and their redistribution in industry, including a statement from the War Industries Board that the termination of contracts would be so timed that the assimilation of the war workers in private employ might be gradual and sure. But we are not aware of any announcement of a similar policy by any branch of the government as affecting its own employes.

"We believe that the civilian employees of the government are entitled to at least the same consideration that is provided for employees of private business establishments engaged on war contracts. Furthermore, as an organization of working women, we consider it an especial reproach to the government, and an indignity to the women it has employed, that any of those women should be put in the position of receiving as a personal gratuity the financial assistance of a government official or any other individual."

Our government's treatment of its women employees is typical; first it asks and urges women to come to work for the war, then as soon as the emergency is passed it dismisses them. Men working on government contracts, men serving in any military or naval capacity are taken care of; they are to be returned gradually to the normal life of the community. To prevent the men working on government contracts being dismissed, the contracts will not be cancelled. But women war workers are dismissed apparently without a thought.

Organized women are especially indignant at the suggestion of one department head who has announced that he will pay the transportation of the dismissed women workers back to their homes out of his private funds. The women resent being treated as the objects of the charity of a generous millionaire when it is as clearly the duty of the government to pay their transportation home as it is the duty of the government to pay the expenses of the soldiers back to their homes.

Children Back in Factories

THERE is no one fact which makes women want more earnestly to share in the political life of this country than the realization of the working conditions of children which have resulted from the withdrawal of the Federal child labor law. Children in great numbers, in many cases even younger than fourteen years, have been put back into factories to work long hours.

In twenty-four states, including Pennsylvania, the southern textile states and New England, except Massachusetts and Vermont, the reports received by the Children's Bureau show a general return of children to work for nine, ten and eleven hours a day. Children have been put back to work not only in factories, but also in mines. In North Carolina children from five years to fourteen years are working sixty hours a week.

For child labor as for woman suffrage the imperative need for national control is essential. When women have secured the latter, it is safe to predict that they will look after the former.

A Woman as Ambassador

THE first country which has appointed a woman as its representative to a foreign country is Hungary, which has appointed Mme. Rosika Schwimmer its representative to Switzerland. Mme. Schwimmer is one of the best known feminist and suffrage leaders in Europe; she has also been most active in the peace movement. In every country in Europe where an autocratic government has been overthrown by the people, women have received recognition at the hands of the democratised state—in Russia, in Germany, in Austria. The original republics alone are lagging behind.

Will Belgium Women Vote?

A NEW Belgian ministry will probably be formed shortly. Its program will include universal suffrage for persons over twenty-one years of age. It is not stated whether or not this will include women over twenty-one years of age. It hardly seems possible, however, that the term people may still be used as a purely masculine noun.

French Women Workers

THE only woman factory inspector in France, Mlle. Bourat, has made a statement to the effect that the French women who have been working in munitions and other sorts of factories will return to their homes now that the war necessity is over. Women have received during the war much higher wages for their work than they received before. Where a girl worked in a shop for forty cents a day se is now receiving two dollars. The wages of all women workers have increased so enormously that large numbers of them have opened savings accounts in the banks. Before the war a French woman with an independent bank account was unheard of. While the pay of French women has increased the hours of work are long. In all the French munition factories the women have worked ten hours a day. With the taste of freedom which they have won through their work and the good wages, it does not seem likely that these women will be willing to go back to the pre-war position which they held. It is far more probable that they will continue to work in factories and offices and that they will demand that their wages be kept high and that they be given some measure of industrial and political independence.

Canadian Women Seek Representation

CANADIAN women, as well as those of the United States, are demanding a voice in the determining of peace terms. A group of women in Alberta has sent a request to the prime minister that he select a woman to advise and assist him at the peace conference. The resolution points out that representatives of many interests have been chosen to advise the prime minister in the preliminary discussions of the terms of peace, but no woman has been chosen to represent the interests of the women of the country.

Jamaica Women and Suffrage

THE agitation for woman suffrage in Jamaica is gaining much strength. The wife of the governor general is interested in the movement and gives her active support by presiding at meetings. The women in the island have already the right to vote in connection with the affairs of the Anglican church; they also sit upon some public boards. The poorer class of women have here, as in most places, worked in the harvest and farm work and in the factories. Only recently have the middle class women begun to work in offices and shops where there are now many more women than men employed.

British Women's Labor Conference

THE *Christian Science Monitor* gives the following report of the National Labor Women's Conference recently held at Caxton Hall, London:

"The conference was attended by 92 delegates from labor parties, 38 from women's sections of local labor parties, 39 representing trade unions, 19 Socialist women's industrial unions, and 60 women's organizations outside the Labor Party. This last group included, as Dr. Ethel Bentham the chairman stated, delegates from teachers' associations and many other societies. The hall was about three-quarters full, but there were very few people in the gallery which was open to the general public.

In her opening address the chairman outlined the policy of the conference, involving such points as equal pay for equal work, equal rights before the law, freedom of the press.

The first resolution referred to the civic rights of women and was as follows: That this conference of women declares—(1) That all legal restrictions on the entry of women to the professions on the same conditions as men should be abrogated; (2) That woman should have all franchises and be eligible for election to all public bodies on the same conditions as men; (3) That systematic provision should be made for the representation of women on all committees and commissions national or local. It also demanded that legislation should immediately be passed by Parliament on these lines."

Among the women who took a prominent part in the conference were Miss Mary McArthur and Mrs. Sidney Webb.

Comments of the Press

Working Up

IT may take a long pull and a strong pull to secure admission for women into the blue lodge of politics, but once they gain full fellowship nothing can prevent them from attaining the higher degrees.

In the recent election, while the women voters lost the only congressional seat they possessed and failed to secure any others, sixteen of them were elected to the legislatures of eleven different states, and many of them to county and township offices. Furthermore, the sisters do not seem to be growing tired of voting, as they would of a new toy. In New York, the percentage of female vote to registration was practically the same as that of the male vote. Suffrage failed in Louisiana by an unexpectedly narrow margin—3,797 votes, out of a total of 42,449 cast. Its opponents claim that the majority against would have been greater with a fuller vote, but the probabilities are just the reverse. With a full, free and untrammeled vote, Louisiana would favor universal suffrage.—*New Orleans Item, Nov. 22, 1918.*

A War for "Democracy"—in Spots

Senators who opposed the equal suffrage resolution all declared they did so because they could not bring themselves to regard it as a war measure; and on the further ground that each state should be the judge of its own electorate.—Washington dispatch.

BRILLIANT old Bourbons!

Progressive old statesmen!

Certainly, it is no consistent part of this war to make the world safe for democracy that the foremost national champion of such a cause should be itself democratized!

Per contra, it is certainly consistent that our own benevolent political autocracies—our states wherein the male minority decrees that the franchise of the political "democracy" shall be limited to a certain portion of itself—should be so deeply concerned for the democracy of subject states in Europe, Asia and Africa!

Of course, if these broad-minded senators are extremely solicitous that California shall be democratic by its own free will and choice, and Massachusetts shall be autocratic by its own free will and choice, they might demand that the United States, as a nation, shall desist from this war for political freedom, democratic equality, autonomy and "self-determination"—and let the remainder of the war be carried on by our little group of states that are politically free because democratic in the equality of their suffrage.

As matters stand, they must see that we are in this war not as individual states, but as a Nation United. And why should New Jersey, whose own people are not self-governing, be required to give its blood and its money to a cause that seeks to realize for Poland its "self-determination" to be autonomous?

Our suggestion is absurd?

Of course it is! Being pertinent to and in furtherance of the argument of these anti-democratic senators at Washington, it is bound to be absurd. The political history of our nation never before has revealed anything comparably as absurd as the Senate minority's declaration that a measure to achieve political freedom for many millions of Americans—American women, the mothers and wives of our soldiers, the great-hearted toilers in our war work, the indispensable supporters and winners of our supreme cause—has no place as war legislation during the course of a war that is consecrated to the political freedom of democracy everywhere!—*San Antonio (Texas) Express, October 3, 1918.*

Suffrage Carries On

THERE is to be no truce in the suffrage fight in the United States. On the eve of the last session of the war Congress, one senatorial vote stands between the submission of the so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment and victory. In October, when the strength of the amendment in the Senate was last tested, it lacked two votes of the necessary two-thirds; a poll of the members shows that it now lacks only a single vote, Senator Pollock of South Carolina having come over, but this is sufficient to withhold it from the legislatures.

There is nearly always a stage at which a great public question appeals to common sense for support because it has failed repeatedly to obtain it on partisan or sentimental grounds. When it is seen that a certain reform is inevitable, that opposition to it is useless and costly, and that it has evidently won the confidenee of the majority, a mere effort to be consistent, a tendency to be stubborn, or a desire to be contrary soon ceases to have weight with the practical public man. Suffrage has not only a majority in the House of Representatives, but, in the vote on the submission of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, it was shown to have the support of more than two-thirds of the members.

In all seriousness, the suffrage question, like the liquor question, has reached the stage where settlement is most desirable from a national point of view. There is not a shadow of doubt that neither of these issues can be settled definitely save in one way. Opposition to either is as hopeless as opposition to great reforms always has been. Prohibition will, from all appearances, be settled for good, because settled rightly, next year. Suffrage will never be settled, temporarily or permanently, until it is settled through incorporation in the fundamental law. This must be clear to every thoughtful observer. Being clear, why should the movement be further obstructed or antagonized? Why should not the question go to the people's representatives, in the several states, who eventually must pass upon it, whether it shall be delayed one year, twenty-five years, or half a century?—*Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 19, 1918.*

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Grand Total	444,506.37
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Transferred from branch headquarters to National Headquarters	4,181.50
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(Correction: Contributions listed in THE SUFFRAGIST of November 16 as coming from the Alice Paul Branch of Minnesota, should have been listed from the Minnesota Branch.)

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